

Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5252

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USMISSION USUN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 389

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PORG US CH

SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: QUESTIONNAIRE

REF: STATE 37591

1. THIS MESSAGE PROVIDES GENERAL RESPONSES, ON THE BASIS OF LIMITED RESOURCES AVAILABLE HERE, TO QUESTIONNAIRE IN REFTEL PARA 7. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO OBTAIN ADDITIONAL COMMENT AND DETAIL FROM GENEVA, USUN AND HONG KONG (TO WHICH QUESTIONNAIRE APPARANTELY HAS NOT BEEN SENT), AND FROM THE APPROPRIATE OFFICES IN THE DEPARTMENT. AS DISCUSSED IN PARA 2(E), OUR ACCESS TO THE PRC MFA IS SEVERELY RESTRICTED BY THE CHINESE, AND DEMARCHES TO MLA HERE ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES, AT PRESENT STAGE OF OUR RELATIONS, WILL HAVE TO BE SELECTED WITH GREAT CARE TO BE EFFECTIVE AT ALL.

2. (A). PRC FOREIGN POLICY AT THIS POINT CONTINUES TO BE DIRECTED PRIMARILY TOWARD DEVELOPING MAXIMUM INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION WHILE
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INCREASING PRC INFLUENCE WITH THE THIRD WORLD. THIS

IS REFLECTED IN CHINESE PERFORMANCE IN THE UN AND OTHER MULTILATERAL FORUMS, WHERE PEKING ALSO WILL CONTINUE EFFORTS, ALTHOUGH APPARENTLY NOT WITH THE HIGHEST PRIORITY, TO FURTHER ISOLATE TAIWAN. CHINA ALSO PRESUMABLY WANTS TO OBTAIN THE LIMITED TANGIBLE BENEFITS AFFORDED BY MEMBERSHIP IN CERTAIN UN AGENCIES, BUT ITS INTERESTS THERE, WE SURMISE IN THE ABSENCE OF HARD EVIDENCE, REMAIN PRINCIPALLY POLITICAL.

THUS, THE CHINESE WILL CONTINUE TO INTERJECT ANTI-SOVIET RHETORIC INTO DEBATES, DENOUNCE SOUTH AFRICA, ISREAL, MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, ETC., AS THEY FIND OPPORTUNITIES, AND ALSO TO CRITICIZE THE UNITED STATES AT A LEVEL CALCULATED TO RETAIN REVOLUTIONARY CREDENTIALS WITHOUT AFFECTING BROADER POLICY INTERESTS. ON DISPUTES IN WHICH THE PRC IS ATTEMPTING TO MAINTAIN RELATIONS WITH TWO SIDES INVOLVED, SPANISH SAHARA, FOR EXAMPLE, THE CHINESE WILL LOOK FOR WAYS TO DUCK THE ISSUE. WHERE THEY SEE NO CLEAR ADVANTAGE TO VIOLATING THEIR "PRINCIPLED" STAND AGAINST UN PEACEKEEPING (E.G., MIDDLE EAST), THEY PRESUMABLY WILL CONTINUE NON-PARTICIPATION IN THE VOTING. ON DISARMAMENT MATTERS, CHINA WILL CONTINUE TO MANEUVER TO AVOID BEING TRAPPED BY THE SOVIETS INTO OPPOSING POSITIONS GENERALLY SUPPORTED BY THE NON-ALIGNED, BUT WHEN IMPORTANT SECURITY INTERESTS ARE AT STAKE, AS IN THE CASE OF NUCLEAR TESTING, THEY WILL MAINTAIN AN UNPOPULAR POSITION. A MIXTURE OF CHINA'S CONCEPT OF ITS OWN SECURITY INTERESTS AND DESIRE TO SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH THE NON-ALIGNED WILL IMPEL CONTINUED CHINESE SUPPORT FOR THE NORTH KOREAN POSITION IN THE GA AND, IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL, FOR VIETNAM UN MEMBERSHIP. AMONG PRC MOTIVATIONS IN CLOSE PARTICIPATION IN LOS MATTERS ARE ITS SECURITY SENSITIVITY TO STRAITS MATTERS AND ITS FELT NEED TO SUPPORT THIRD WORLD ECONOMIC INTERESTS (NOTABLY LATIN AMERICAN) WHICH CONFLICT WITH THOSE OF THE SUPERPOWERS.

WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY CHINESE CANDIDACY. IN THE ASIAN GROUP THEY CAN BE EXPECTED TO RESIST IF
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THEY CAN CANDIDACIES OF INDIA AND MONGOLIA. WE KNOW OF NO NEW INITIATIVES PLANNED BY THE CHINESE, WHOSE MULTILATERAL POLICY IS STILL FAR FROM CREATIVE.

(B) GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE THE PRC PLACES, IN ITS MULTILATERAL POLICY-MAKING, ON THE ATTITUDES OF THE THIRD WORLD, CHINA'S POSITIONS ARE STRONGLY AFFECTED BY NON-ALIGNED AND GROUP 77 CONSENSUS AND CHINA'S

VOTING WILL DEPART FROM THAT ONLY WITH GREAT CAUTION. WE BELIEVE THE PRC RARELY LOBBIES BY CALLING AMBASSADORS INTO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY IN PEKING, BUT RATHER EMPHASIZES EFFORTS IN THE LOCALE OF THE MULTILATERAL MEETINGS OR, ON ISSUES OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO PEKING, IN FOREIGN CAPITALS. THE CHINESE PRESUMABLY WILL CONTINUE TO LOBBY IN THESE FORUMS, PRINCIPALLY TO UNDERCUT THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE SOVIET UNION. ON SUBJECTS WHERE THEY HAVE COMMITTED THEIR PRESTIGE, SUCH AS ISSUES INVOLVING KOREA, CAMBODIA AND TAIWAN, OUR IMPRESSION IS THAT THEIR INFLUENCE WITH OTHER COUNTRIES' POSITIONS CAN BE SIGNIFICANT.

(C) PRC DELEGATES TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS SEEM TO BE INSTRUCTED IN DETAIL BY THE FOREIGN MINISTRY AND THE TEXTS OF MOST SPEECHES ARE UNDOUBTEDLY CLEARED IN PEKING BEFORE THEY ARE GIVEN. WE SURMISE THAT PEKING DECISION-MAKING ON SUDDENLY-ARISING MULTILATERAL ISSUES NOT COVERED BY BROAD INSTRUCTIONS IS LIKELY TO BE SLOW. PEKING MAY GIVE A TRUSTED FIGURE LIKE AMBASSADOR HUANG AT THE UN SOME LATITUDE ON THE WORDING OF RIGHTS OF REPLY IN DEBATE, BUT IN GENERAL THE NEED FOR DETAILED UP-TO-THE-OGKN# INSTRUCTIONS

ON EVERY ISSUE IS SOMEWHAT LESSENERED BY CHINESE WILLINGNESS TO INDULGE IN REPETITIOUS BOMBAST NOT ALWAYS ATTUNED TO THE PARLIAMENTARY ENVIRONMENT. WE ASSUME THEIR REPORTING ON EVENTS IS ADEQUATE, BUT THAT PRC MFA IS RATHER SHORT ON EXPERIENCED MULTILATERAL HANDS TO FULLY UNDERSTAND THE CONTEXT IN WHICH INSTRUCTIONS ARE IMPLEMENTED.

(D) PRC DIPLOMATS ARE DISCIPLINED. WE BELIEVE IT
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WOULD BE EXTREMELY UNLIKELY THAT ANY HEAD OF A CHINESE DELEGATION WOULD ACT INDEPENDENTLY OF INSTRUCTIONS FROM PEKING.

(3) THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IS NOT RPT NOT NORMALLY RECEPTIVE TO USLO REPRESENTATIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES. EFFORTS TO ENGAGE THEM IN DISCUSSION OF SUCH ISSUES HAVE BEEN MET WITH SILENCE OR WITH A STATEMENT THAT THE MATTER SHOULD BE TAKEN UP WITH CHINESE DELEGATION IN NEW YORK OR ANOTHER MULTILATERAL FORUM. WE HAVE, HOWEVER, MADE ONE APPARENTLY SUCCESSFUL DEMARCHE TO THE FOREIGN MINISTRY ON AN ISSUE OF HIGH PRIORITY (PUERTO RICO; SEE PEKING 1562 OF 8/16/75), BUT WE SUSPECT THAT IN THIS CASE MFA WAS NOT AWARE, WHEN THE APPOINTMENT WAS GRANTED, OF THE SUBJECT TO BE

DISCUSSED. AT THIS STAGE OF THE UN-PRC RELATIONSHIP,
WHERE CONTACTS EVEN ON BILATERAL MATTERS ARE LIMITED,
WE CANNOT EXPECT TO ESTABLISH ANY ROUTINE DIALOGUE ON
MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS HERE AND, IFMLE ARE TO LOBBY IN
PEKING ON SUCH ISSUES, PRC RECEPTIVENESS -- IF ANY --
WILL BE DEPENDENT ON SATISFYING MFA THAT OUR
INSTRUCTIONS EMANATE FROM THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF
THE DEPARTMENT. THE CHINESE HAVE NOT SOUGHT USG
SUPPORT THROUGH USLO ON ANY MULTILATERAL MATTERS
AND WE DO NOT EXPECT THEM TO DO SO IN THE NEAR
FUTURE.
THAYER

NOTE BY OC/T: #AS RECEIVED.

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